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Abstract

The research of this authcr indicates that the develcpment of high self-esteem (defined as the good-bad dimension cf self-ccncept) is asscciated with (1) acceptance, (2) clearly defined limits and moderately high goals, and (3) respectful treatment. Such factcrs as status, income, and educaticn are only related tc high self-esteem if they are a part of an individual's personal definition of success. Since high self-esteem is correlated with need-achievement, which prcves to be a self-fulfilling prophecy fcr success, and lcw self-esteem is correlated with fear cf failure, which proves to be a self-fulfilling prophecy fcr failure, it is clear that cur educaticnal techniques should fcster high self-esteem. Further, it has been shown that (1) self-mctivaticn derives frcm seeing oneself develcp ccmpetency (through internal feedback, not social apprcval), (2), stringent but reasonable early challenges facilitate develcpment, and (3) the schcol situaticn can either hurt a student's self-esteem cr equip him with the mechanisms tc maintain it at a high level. Our present educational system hinges on the anxiety-provoking, self-esteem lcwering reliance cf the student cn the teacher's approval, grades, and attention. A preferable alternative would shift emphasis tc self-mctivaticn, based on high self-esteem. [Not available in hard ccpy due to marginal legibility cf criginal document.] (MH)

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Implications of Studies on Self-Esteem for Educational Research and Practice

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Given the limited time available I have decided to discuss a few topics in some depth rather than a multitude at a superficial level. This will permit me to elaborate on some important topics related to changing theories and practices in education and at the same time suggest why the schools should be concerned about fostering self-esteem and how they should achieve that end. My presentation, like Caul, is divided into three parts. In the first I shall discuss the results of my studies of self-esteem relevent to education; in the second I shall consider how self-concepts in general and self-esteem in particular influence learning and teaching; in the third I shall examine several topics emerging from studies of personality development that appear to have considerable implications for future research and theories.

INTRODUCTION

During the past ten years I have conducted a series of studies designed to clarify the antecedents, correlates and consequences of self-esteem. Several other investigators

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have been actively involved in studying self-esteem and the monographs by Rosenberg (1), Diggory (2), as well as my own (3) testify to increasing awareness and knowledge of its significance. Let me briefly summarize the major findings bearing upon the formation of high self-esteem. As I define it self-esteem represents one dimension of the self-concept, that of evaluation. The self is an abstract object about which the individual holds certain attitudes. Judgements of self-esteem represent evaluative (positive-negative) attitudes about one's abilities, characteristics and performance. This focus upon one dimension of the self-concept is based on the significance of appraisals for personal satisfaction and effective performance and the advantages of studying single dimensions of the self-concept over those of examining several dimensions or the entire concept as a unity.

The studies reveal that there are three general conditions associated with the development of high self-esteem. These are acceptance - expressed by warmth, interest and concern for the individual's well-being by persons significant to him; clearly defined limits, goals and relatively high demands and expectations for performance; and respectful treatment and latitude of individual for persons who abide by the established limits. In a very general way this type of environment may be seen as one which provides clear cognitive guidance as to what is expected and makes considerable demands for self-exertion and performance. To be specific the environment that produces high self-esteem is neither permissive nor democratic although as we shall see these concepts are too

idealized and ambiguous to afford much guidance in describing actual interpersonal relations in small groups. Of equal interest and importance were the negative findings which indicated that many conditions that presumably affected self-esteem had little if any influence on self-appraisal. Thus we find that the following were not associated with the formation of high self-esteem - status, income, education, height, physical attractiveness, the amount of punishment and the amount of time spent with parents. The findings that these conditions were unrelated to whether persons evaluated themselves favorably or unfavorably raise certain questions about the potency of external rewards as a means of affecting feelings of competency and significance. When we find no difference in esteem between persons (parents and children) with income levels of under two thousand dollars and over one million dollars it is difficult to argue that money is a generally salient basis for judging worthiness. What do come through is the finding that success is personally defined and interpreted in accord with personal values, expectations and defenses. That definition is based upon experiences in the personal frame of reference rather than vague aspirations and fantasies of what could be; they are filtered through defenses which determine how one defines and interprets the opinions of others and accepts them as enhancing or devaluating. Thus external rewards and punishments, threats and incentives are effective in altering esteem to the extent that are consistent with the persons values and expectations and are accepted by him as indices of success and failure.

Self-Esteem, Learning and Teaching

While it seems obvious that an individual's concept of himself would have significant implications for his actions, that ideas has had little effect upon educational theory and practice. Many psychologists are quite intrigued by the child's concepts of space, number, time and morality because they believe such knowledge provides basic understanding about the child's mode of thinking and adapting to the environment. At the same time they are uncertain or skeptical that the child's concept of himself is significant to teaching and learning. Part of the difference between the attention to concepts regarding self and other objects appears to stem from the conviction that the educational process should focus upon materials, and the content of subject matter and not become involved in matters relating to personality, emotions or the student's personal interests and concerns. When the term mental health is applied to the schools it is done so vaguely as to be virtually meaningless and affords no basis for establishing specific classroom practices. The question persists, in what way is self-concept in general and self-esteem in particular relevent and significant for learning?

In response to this question let me first cite the findings of several investigators: Self-esteem has been associated with analytical thinking (4) which permits the individual to separate a problem into component parts; with creative ability (3,5); with the ability to participate in discussions and express a point of view (1,3); with persistence in performing tasks (2) and with the ability to maintain a

constant perceptual framework in the face of confounding conditions (3). Persons with nigh self-esteem are more likely to be leaders in their social groups, more concerned about public affairs rather than personal problems, and less sensitive and anxious (1,3). They are generally more effective and in general achieve more at a given level of intelligneco than do persons who take a more negative view of themselves. (3) In terms of affect, persons with high self-esteem are generally more expressive and are less likely to be rated as unhappy, destructive, shy, embarrassed or retiring (1,3). They are less upset by the criticisms of others and more inclined to accept their own views of what is correct and appropriate (3). Self-expectations and the expectations of others exert a powerful influence upon the level of performance achieved. (2,6). Higher estimates of our own powers leads to higher expectations of success which appears to evoke greater efforts and focus, eventuating in higher levels of performance. Relating self-attitudes to academic performance leads us to the view that positive attitudes represent a self-fulfilling prophecy of success; negative attitudes eventuate in anticipation of failure and perceived lack of ability which eventuate in lower performance.

In addition to these general indications of low self-esteem influencing learning there are some studies that have dealt specifically with its importance in classroom learning. Morse reported that a young child's self-esteem is a better predictor of his ability to learn reading than is I.Q. or performance on a reading readiness test. (7) Deutsch (8)

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and Krugman (9) report that Negro students, particularly males, suffer from a negative self-concept which establish a self-fulfilling prophecy of failure. These students perceive little possibilities for academic success, believe that society in general and their teachers in particular expect inferior performance from them. Internalizing these negative expectations they are apt to withdraw from what they regard as a hopeless situation and join in the virtually unanimous decision that their capacities are insufficient to school demands. Lacking calm belief in their acceptability they are evasive about the difficulties they encounter and find it difficult to request and/or proceed independently. Given these indicators of the significance of self-esteem there seems ample reason to explore the means by which it can be fostered in the schools. It seems clear that this goal should most properly be reached within the schools by providing greater success experiences in subjects dealing with academic competence. This could presumably be achieved by more detailed assessments of capacities, interests and performance, more individualized instruction, establishing positive expectations for each child, providing definite goals which are attainable and supervised, setting limits of acceptable behavior that are reasonable, related to education and enforced, and treating each child with attention and respect. It seems equally clear that these procedures cannot, and in all likelihood, will not be attained because of the limited time, personnel and funds available. Even if these resources

were available it is by no means certain that we could today specify how these ends should be reached, nor is it necessarily the case that present classroom procedures and materials would be the most effective ways of attaining and sustaining self-esteem. Let me therefor briefly consider with you some alternative procedures for increasing self-esteem in the schools and thereby facilitating learning. First let me raise the possibility that self-esteem be raised by nonacademic means, e.g. arts and crafts, athletics, dramatics, games, and thereafter directed towards academic skills and materials. This is effectively what is now being pursued by black studies programs which are attempts to arouse pride in blackness and alter prior interpretations of skin color, race and status. Such efforts to raise esteem by establishing positive group identification do not, at present, focus on competance but they do serve to arouse and mobilize what were previously unaspiring youth. While there is the difficulty that esteem raised by nonacademic means would be difficult to redirect to academic subjects that difficulty must be weighed against our present inability to raise the expectations and engage the interest of large numbers of young people. In addition I should note that crafts, athletics, dramatics and various games are not without potential educational significance in themselves. From what we are now learning through the work of Piajet and others play is a valuable method of learning skills, roles and perspectives and is significantly involved in concept formation. If we are to maximize the benefits of these indirect means of

enhancing esteem in the schools we shall have to learn how to provide suitable and sufficient materials and a set of limits that afford both guidance and protection. The view that the school raise esteem by such nonacademic procedures clearly must be subjected to closer examination. However, given that there are large numbers of individuals who withdraw because they fully expect failure, the possibility of altering these expectations and shifting them to skill competencies is worthy of consideration.

A second point regarding self-esteem in the school is that it provides us with a meaningful, specific, and measurable index of the concept of mental health. High self-esteem is associated with lesser anxiety, fewer symptoms, greater personal satisfaction and more effective performance. In place of vague concepts of security, adjustment, and the avoidance of problems we are now in a position to foster attitudes and expectancies that will enable the individual to attain his goals and deal more effectively with adversity. Rather than avoid neurosis we can begin fostering conditions that will develop a state that facilates effectiveness, and personal satisfaction. In this same vein, we should consider the affective components associated with awareness, alertness and motivation. My own studies, among others, indicate that persons who are high in self-esteem are more expressive of all emotions (positive and negative) as well as particularly prone to express positive affect. This would serve as but another instance where emphasis upon the cognitive or behavioral aspects

of learning might easily cause us to overlook the affective components. For a variety of reasons, ranging from cultural taboos to theoretical differences, affect has been regarded as intrusive and interfering with learning, although there does not appear to be an empirical basis for such a view. The role of affect on education, and the relative between cognition and affect are at least open questions. There is reason to believe that affect serves as a cue guiding cognition and response and also alerting the person to what is going on within him on a nonverbal level. Self-awareness, self-arousal and self-reward are likely to play an important part is sustained, independent learning and we need considerably more knowledge of how cognitive and affect processes interrelate and the ways in which affect can increase competency, motivation and performance.

A third issue relating self-esteem and learning is the relationship between psychological structures -- rules, limits and demands, disciplinary procedures and self-esteem. While there have been many persons who believed that the absence of structures and demands would result in great exploration and enhancing self-fulfilling activities our evidence points in the opposite direction. This evidence (and that of Veroff, University of Michigan, 1967) indicates that high self-esteem and creativity are more likely to arise out of well structured early environments rather than those that are unstructured and relatively accomodating. In effect the findings suggest that the teacher or parent who wishes to produce an effective, self-motivated youngster will make clear, consistent demands at a

relatively early age, expand and later demands as the youngster matures while at the same time expressing interest and respect for his welfare and rights. At the same time the results indicate that the presence of such limits reduces the likelihood of harsh punishment and permits greater latitude of expression for those who abide by the structure. Clear standards, positive and well defined expectations serve to guide behavior and indicate increased personal competence. Since success is personally defined there must be some standards for gauging its attainment; without criteria the person is left without an accurate gauge of mastery. Grades serve partially in this regard but their focus is upon the judgements and motivation supplied by others rather than personal appraisals of whether subgoals as well as larger goals have been attained.

Some New Concepts Related to Esteem

The studies in self-esteem I have described appear to be part of an extensive theoretical orientation emerging in contemporary psychology. There has been considerable talk of a mental health revolution, third force in psychology, discussion of new and fairly radical procedures of treating disorders, and marked attention to the role of early sensory and cultural stimulation. Many of the concepts of the major theories of psychoanalysis and behaviorism are being questioned although no major alternative theories have as yet appeared. In my closing remarks I should briefly like to allude to several concepts that appear to have heuristic value and are related

to the learning-teaching process. Before doing so let me point out that part of the reasons these concepts are emerging is because several of traditional concepts, e.g. mental health, permissiveness, democracy and reward have proved to be less effective than we had hoped. Some of these concepts such as permissiveness and democracy were inappropriate generalizations from political and philosophical systems rather than behavioral studies, others such as mental health were derived from studies of disturbed individuals in accord with medical theories of disease, and others such as reward a assumed a uniformity of favorable and unfavorable reactions that was not in accord with our knowledge of social class and individual differences. It is not the case that these concepts are totally wrong, it is rather that they have not proved productive in their present state and ust be reconceptualized if they are to be of use.

There are four general concepts I shall consider. These are those dealing with <u>competency</u>; those related to <u>challenge and stress</u>; those dealing with <u>defenses</u> and those dealing with <u>self-motivation and reward</u>.

Competency: There is increasing evidence that the ability to perform tasks effectively is in itself rewarding. Whereas prior theories of motivation have proposed that effort was expended by virtue of compensation or association with "basic" drives we now see that curiosity, exploration, increased stimulation, manipulation and information seeking can evoke responses without such associations. This has brought to the fore such concepts as competence, mastery and effectiveness that attempt to depict the organism's search for increased control over self and environment. One presumed basis for the potency of such improved capacity are the feelings of worthiness attained when an individual perceives that he can do things that were previously beyond him. This is true for the one year old who is learning how to walk, and the child who is learning how to read or ride a bicycle. The situation is that as the individual's skills and powers are growing, and he perceives that they are, he will conclude that he is more competent and worthy than he previously was. As I see it the focus is upon his perceiving it by observing his own actions rather than by getting information from others about abstractions. In educational terms this would mean an opportunity for him to put his ideas and abilities into action rather than being a passive recipient of materials. More specifically it suggests that games, and problems that require him to use his skills, and thereby indicate where he is competent and where he is deficient, are likely to be more motivating, rewarding and self-sustaining

than activities that are more passive and stem from the teacher's or other adult appraisals of his needs and capacities. The act of doing that provides feedback of competence and error puts the appraisal within the individual rather than a teacher, peer or other observer. If we separate the action from the appraisal--so that the child does and the teacher appraises, we are in effect making the sense of competency dependent upon other person's judgements. Under those conditions feelings of competency may be aroused when other people tell the child how well he has done rather than from improved performance itself. The goal, in short, may be to please the teacher, rather than improve skills and knowledge, so that the child's greatest efforts may be directed towards evoking favorable reactions from the teacher rather than the performance itself.

In educational terms the questions are "What kinds of action activities can we establish that provide internal feedback of competence and need for improvement?" and "Are such activities educational in the sense of providing basic skills and information as well as conceptual abilities and amusement?" The answers to these questions are obviously not available but it is interesting to note that many of the self-selected favorite activities of children are those that provide internal, personal feedback of mastery and are relatively independent of social appraisals of competence. These would include bicycle riding, skating, skiing, sailing, horseback riding and swimming. In each instance the person can

gauge whether his capacity is increased by observing whether his balance, control, speed, etc. are greater than they were at an earlier point. The feedback is relatively direct and while social appraisals may assist the process they are not essential or even major determinants of self-perceived competence. In that same vein activities such as arts and crafts, dramatics, and free ranging exploration of a library or culturally rich classroom may be a better point of departure for observing one's own actions and competencies than more formal responses to books and exercises. A variety of programmed materials that the individual can pursue at his own pace are one example of internally gauging competence with feedback; objects and materials themselves are another. It has been my experience that people seek some activity on which they can base feelings of competence and general worthiness. Those who lack such activity withdraw or drift; those who find such activities persist, pursue and develop. Competency motivation may afford an alternative to other motives of reward, competition that rely on other persons for appraisal and sustained activity competence. The question for education is whether we can establish similar action activities that provide internal feedback or competence and need for improvement.

Challenge and Stress: One of the issues raised by such a competency approach to education is the level of demands that are to be required from the individual. While my comments

on action orientated activities suggest that free selection will permit the individual to select his own level of demands this is not necessarily the case, particularly since low level of demands are not necessarily most conducive to feelings of worthiness. On this score I should like to cite several converging lines of evidence that point to the enhancing effects of moderate stress and stimulation. First I should like to cite those findings from my own studies of self-esteem which associate high self-esteem with higher demands for competence, greater expectations of performance and more persistent attention and enforcement of such demands. High self-esteem is associated with higher goals that are met by improved performance rather than lowered goals that are more easily satisfied through lesser attainment. The person apparently knows when he is performing close to or at capacity and when he works well below it, he is less likely to feel productive and effective. Intellectually as well as physically we know when our abilities are being stretched and it may be that capacity is being created when we are compelled to exert ourselves beyond comfortable activity. There has been a widespread opinion that marked exertions, stresses and pressures are likely to be more harmful than constructive although there are several lines of evidence to the contrary. Not that I am advocating that such exertions be employed but rather that, I would hope for an objective appraisal of whether, which and when demands are excessive and destructive and when they may have constructive

consequences.

Along the line of such constructive effects we may note a study by Seymour (1962) indicating that mild electric shocks have a facilitating effect on the development of infant mice rather than the traumatizing effect he himself had anticipated. His studies indicate that such mild shocks administered to young animals result in less timidity, more rapid growth and attainment of larger adult size. While the mechanisms for this facilitated growth are not clear, later studies did indicate that the adrenal glands of the mildly shocked animals responded more rapidly to stressful conditions. The results suggest that the hormonal regulatory systems may have developed more rapidly in response to early stress and that such mild early stresses may therefore facilitate rather than retard development. It should, of course, be borne in mind that we are generalizing from another species but I believe that the general finding regarding mild stress is worth noting particularly since we have some similar findings from a cross-cultural study of that same vein we have the intriguing findings regarding early stress and adult size from a cross-cultural study of eighty cultures. Comparing stressful treatment of piercing and molding various parts of the body Lacedauer and Whiting (1964) found that the males in stressful cultures were 2.7 inches taller than those in which such stresses were not employed. Again interpretation and generalization are difficult but the results suggest that mild to moderate early stresses

may facilitate rather than retard development. Another study worth acting on in this context is Barker's (1963) appraisal of the effects of intensive social participation in smaller communities. This study indicates that persons who are required to engage in somewhate more social and business activities than is easily scheduled feel they are more productive and effective than those who can set a more leisurely pace. Apparently increased demand results in greater use of capacity and the feeling that one is sought, valued and personally productive. Let me note that while none of these studies is taken from the realms of education or personality development they do bear upon the issues of demands, goals and expectations in the school setting. The question of how to devise optimun challenges that facilitate competance, enhance development and result in feelings of effectiveness certainly bears upon the educational process. If this requires new procedures in which the student is required to achieve basic competence and then extend himself considerably until he becomes aware of his strengths and limits these may offer advantages that are not found in moderate, regular pacing. My own work suggests that people feel more worthy when stringent but reasonable demands are placed upon them. The questions of how to define "reasonable," and establish individual challenge are by no means easy but they do lead us to a different way of gauging the school's function and the child's progress. The concept of challenge also raises the issues of boredom, pacing and short and long

term goal setting all of which are problematic concerns of modern education.

Defenses: As it is traditionally employed the concept of "defenses" has little is any place in the formal educational process. In the formal definition and in the traditional usage of psychoanalytic theory defenses represent an unconscious protection against anxiety aroused by threat to personal well-being. They defend the individual against feelings of apprehension and distress that are evoked when one's self-esteem is threatened and the person believes himself incapable of dealing with that threat. The defense consists of either repressing, distorting or displacing the demeaning implications of the threat so that the individual is either unaware of them, or so alters their personal implications that they no longer threaten his sense of worthiness. While this definition of defenses has proved extremely valuable in understanding certain types of behavior I should like to consider how it could be profitably expanded and applied to the process of education. To be brief I would propose that the concept of defenses be applied to conscious as well as unconscious activities, that it apply to events that occur before anxiety is aroused as well as afterwards, and that it include the general style by which an individual characteristically deals with adversity as well as the specific mechanisms employed to reduce anxiety. Without going into the theoretical definitions and implications of such an expanded concept of defenses I

should like to consider some of its implications for teaching and learning.

To begin let us note that the school setting is marked by constant evaluation in which there is traditionally only one way of excelling, i.e. academic excellence. There is a constant theme of success and failure, uncertainty as to relative prowess, and the anticipation that formal tests will follow informal judgements. At the same time we have considerable indications that persons who fear failure are less venturesome and less persistent, that feelings of helplessness result in withdrawal and that creative and bold solutions require feelings of worthiness. In effect this would indicate that (a) the school setting is likely to threaten the self-esteem of many individuals, (b) that self-esteem may contribute significantly to academic performance, so that (c) raising the level of self-esteem may contribute to the goal of academic excellence. If this evidence and reasoning are correct then procedures for enhancing self-esteem in the school is likely to have as much if not more favorable effects on learning than would continued or heightened focus on the information and materials themselves. This would be particularly true for children with low or uncertain self-esteem who are often the greatest source of emotional and learning difficulty with which the school must contend. Examined in this light the question becomes "By what means can we enhance an individual's esteem so that he can deal with feelings and areas of inadequacy and perform in a more effective fashion?"

As we may note this question is quite similar to that considered under such terms as threat, anxiety and defense but the focus on deficiencies of esteem raises possibilities for the classroom that were previously limited to the psychological clinic. The concerns now are on changing expectations, altering self-attitudes, providing favorable models, teaching and illustrating procedures for dealing with poor performance and adversity, and providing some active way of interpreting and responding to situations other persons designate as failure.

Let me briefly indicate some procedures and ideas that emerge from this approach. For one it may require a more direct examination of the role of affect in learning--how affect should be expressed or inhibited, the treatment of fear, anger, aggression, happiness and enthusiasm. Education involves both intellect and affect and excluding the latter may well reduce cues for learning as well as motives for persistence, innovation and curiosity. Learning about and expressing affect under given conditions may provide greater self-acceptance and increase the likelihood that some measure of insight and/or control is gained. Another way of learning to defend against adversity is to learn one's good points--skills, abilities and personal characteristics--as well as one's deficiencies. Knowledge, and the conviction that the favorable appraisal is genuine, provides some basis for support when difficulties are encountered. For this purpose we need assessments of a broader range of characteristics and a greater recognition of diverse and individualized competence. A third

implication lies in the definition and clarification of what various levels of performance signify. Instead of labeling performance in terms of success and failure we need to conceptualize them in terms of effort, mistakes and improvement; instead of focusing on group comparisons we have to develop instructional materials and teaching procedures that do indeed permit appraisal in terms of prior personal competence; instead of focusing on fixed capacities such as the IQ, we may attend to environmental conditions that increase modifiability and express individual style. Early labeling, grading and categorizing by either teacher or student can effectively serve to threaten the majority of students by solidying expectations (few are A) and producing a limiting attention upon specific limited solutions. (There's a right answer). At a more direct level students can be taught specific means of dealing with adversity by demonstration, example and discussion. Done early enough a focus on scheduling time, organizing materials, gathering and interpreting information can provide a strategy for dealing with difficulty when it arises. Similarly the question of whether to accept or reject an adverse opinion, how to use criticism, and one's own contribution to difficulties as well as those resulting from the actions of others would enable an individual to examine this customary posture and whether other postures and actions might be more constructive. Finally let me note the studies on attitude change which indicate that active espousal and refutation of

criticisms may contribute significantly to the ability to refute propaganda. In this instance if the propaganda is directed against the self it is quite conceivable that we can assist students to defend themselves more effectively than they customarily do.

These are but suggestions intended to open the question of how the school may contribute significantly towards maintaining and developing attitudes that contribute to learning.

Self-Motivation: One of the difficulties frequently encountered in teaching is the student's reliance on teacher incentives of grading, attention and testing to sustain interest and attention. The use of such anxiety arousing and extraneous motivation is generally predicated on the assumption that most students are not directly interested in learning the skills and information presented, partially because they do not see its future utility and partially because alternative activities are easier and endorsed by peers. This somewhat hedonistic view of the motives that compel learning and action may have its roots in realistic assessments of student behavior but it is also a one sided view that leads us to focus upon the teacher's influence rather than the student's desires. Presumably this focus is necessary for education to proceed, even though it directs attention away from learning per se to the appraisal of learning and implies that the removal of external rewards and punishments would result in greatly diminished effort and relatively little interest in

gaining further skills and information. While I believe that this view is not unwarranted on the basis of prevailing assumptions of human nature and educational practices I should like to consider an alternative way of conceptualizing motivations to excell, which places the focus within the individual and his standards rather than upon the teacher, anxiety and external appraisal.

As I have previously indicated there is evidence indicating that competence motivation may be inherently rewarding. This would suggest that is the child is placed in a situation where manipulation, exploration and increased stimulation can be achieved he is likely to pursue such activities. A second line of evidence indicates that children feel more worthy when they work at a stretched level of demands rather than a more casual, non challenging level. From these we can adduce that children are not necessarily lazy and eager to avoid work but possibly they do not pursue the types of activities that other persons deem appropriate to them. The question this raises is whether they would pursue the skills and knowledge taught in the school <u>by themselves</u> given a sufficient period of time. What we may raise as an alternative to external guidance and control is an increased emphasis on self-guidance and self-reward. To shift the focus to internal control requires that we regard the student's ideas, feelings, and opinions as worthy of expression--although we need not accept and

upon his perceptions and judgements and use them as a basis for action rather than rely upon the opinions of others. Such reliance on internal or external forces is not absolutely one or the other but persons's who rely upon themselves in childhood apparently do so to an increasing degree in later years. One way of achieving an internal focus of control is to make the person.so favorably disposed to himself that he will respond to himself at least as much as to others. His rewards to himself are such that his own appraisals are more important than are the grades or plaudits of other persons. Self-motivation requires an estimate of self that is sufficiently favorable to be attended to, sufficiently high so that it will pursue activities merely to curry favor, and sufficiently strong that it will seek challenge and stimulation. The self-motivation that would provide internal direction and search is based on high self-esteem while the external motivation that relies on anxiety and grades apparently engenders low self-esteem to achieve its ends.

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